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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

I GAIN nothing but labour by being a member of Parliament. I never can receive any remuneration for that labour, other than that participation in a change for the better, which it is my object to produce for every working man in the country. From the country I will receive nothing for my labour in any shape whatsoever. My virtuous constituents suffered my election to cost me not one single farthing, knowing how unjust it would be to expect that I, who have nothing but what has been derived from my labour, should give away a part of that, in addition to a considerable portion of my time, besides a great deal of mental and bodily exertion. This being the case, not a farthing of *money* shall this seat in Parliament cost me. And I do beseech those who have to write to me, upon any business whatsoever, to pay the postage of their letters, *if they send them by the twopenny-post*. Let them recollect that *one* such letter a day is pretty nearly the amount of the wages of an industrious weaver; or, at least, the amount of what such a weaver has to live upon; that twelve such letters a day amount to eighteen pounds five shillings a year, which is as much as is probably necessary to maintain my house one week out of the fifty-two. I need say no more to convince any reasonable man, that all twopenny-post letters ought to come to me postage paid. My private affairs require no such letters; and therefore, from this

time forth, no such letter will I receive which does not come postage paid; and I take this opportunity of begging all those persons whose time is of any value to them, not to write to me on the subject of what is called *politics*, except they have *some fact* to communicate; and when that is the case, I beg them to write in a plain hand, and to let the statement be as clear and as brief as possible.

With regard to general-post letters, the number which I have received has not yet exceeded the fifteen which are allowed by the Act of Parliament; but, several people have written to me merely for the purpose of receiving an answer, in order that they might preserve the "*frank*" as a specimen of my hand-writing. I have no reason to be angry with such persons; but this affair of collecting autographs, has always appeared to me to be a proof that the parties want to be set to work. Amongst the sensible and zealous working people of Scotland, a desire to have a scrap of writing under my hand, was not only excusable, but laudable; because it was bottomed in the best of principles; but, that there should be men, or even sensible women, to make it a part of the business of their life to make a collection of hand-writings; even this alone proves that society is out of joint; and I will be bound to say, that there are in England, at this moment, fifty thousand collectors of autographs, every one of whom, were there no misapplication of the public money, would be at work with a needle instead of a pen, or would be wielding a scrubbing-brush, or have their pretty arms and hands in the washing-tub. Therefore, to a folly like this, never will I give my countenance. I have never, without the greatest reluctance, suffered a moment of my time to be taken up with the painting of my picture, or anything of the sort. I am to be known and remembered by my public writings and public acts; and, if these be not suffi-

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cient for the purpose, I ought not to be known or remembered at all.

Another class of correspondents press me very much to have my *speeches in Parliament* published in a separate work. This, for many reasons, I shall not do. I am aware of the importance of its being done, on account of the facts which it will put upon record. I have not torn myself (almost like tearing soul from body) from my garden and my fields; I have not done this for the vain and empty purpose of figuring as a speech-maker; but for the purpose of causing to be extended, very widely, those facts which the nation but partially knew, and the knowledge of which, by the whole people, I deem necessary to the restoration of the rights, liberties, and happiness of my country. To utter plain sense in plain words is all that I have ever aimed at either in speaking or writing. But, I know more than most other men relative to the causes of the degradation of my country. I have been freely chosen by a body of electors who do honour to their country; and they have chosen me for the very purpose, that I may communicate my knowledge to the whole country. It is, therefore, right that I should neglect no means of causing to be put into print that which I utter in the House; and this I am doing to the utmost of my means. The haste, necessarily belonging to a publication of debates in a morning paper, must produce errors and omissions innumerable: therefore, the best that I can do, in this case, is, to cause corrections to be made and omissions to be supplied for an evening paper; and I have chosen for that purpose the *True Sun*, which I am happy to hear has a very extensive circulation. Beyond this I myself cannot go. But I perceive that my speeches are republished, in a small and convenient book-form, by a Mr. Watson, No. 33, Windmill-street, Finsbury. This publication is an "occasional pamphlet," and therefore does not come under those Six Acts, in virtue of which, those who opposed those Acts and called them tyrannical, have sent, I believe, about two hundred men to prison. I would

advise the publisher to take the reports as he finds them in the *True Sun* newspaper; and to continue to publish them the day after they appear in that paper, or the day after that; not to call them numbers, nor to continue the paging from one publication to another; but to do as he has done in republishing the speech of the 7. of February, making it a separate and distinct pamphlet of itself; and if, in designating me, he would be so good as to leave out the "*Esquire*," he will very much oblige me, that being a something, which I myself never put after my name, and which I desire never to see put after it by any body else. I have the honour to be a Member of Parliament for OLDHAM; that honour I will endeavour to merit as long as life and health shall enable me to take a part in these great matters. I desire no other title; no other title will I have; and I shall deem it a favour if no one attempt to give me any other.

This little republication is calculated to do an immensity of good. I advise my constituents of OLDHAM, and also my constituents of MANCHESTER; for it is I, and not POULETT THOMSON, who really represent them after all; and that they will very soon find. I would advise them to be supplied with this little publication, which they will find not only very convenient for the present; but they will find, that they will be able, by taking the several pamphlets and putting them together according to *their dates* (the Six Acts having omitted to prevent us from dating things) they would have a nice little volume grow together: three-pence or four-pence for binding, at the end of the sessions, will enable them to preserve a body of information, which they will have constantly at hand, and which cannot fail to be of the greatest utility to them. The price of each of these pamphlets is one penny; I must leave to the publishers and their correspondents the terms upon which they shall deal; and shall only add, that I saw the first pamphlet before I had ever even heard of the intention of such

a publication ; in which I have no pecuniary interest whatever ; the parties publishing which I do not know, except by the imprint at the bottom of their publication ; but I think their undertaking most useful, and I shall render them all the service in my power.

ECCLESIASTICAL COURT.

4. February.

THIS report of a very interesting case I take from the "*True Sun*" newspaper of 5. of February ; the plaintiff (to speak in terms that my readers will understand) was the Reverend Dr. Vivian, the incumbent of the parishes of St. Austin and St. Faith, in the city of London, and the defendants were Mr. WILLIAMS and Mr. HIBON, the churchwardens of the former parish. The report explains the grounds of the proceedings against these gentlemen, and, as the case involved the rights of parishioners in a matter that might have been tortured to mischievous precedent had the Doctor beaten them, it is right that I should publish this report in order to do my best towards spreading the information which it contains. A clear encroachment was evidently attempted, and it was resisted by the churchwardens with great spirit, promptitude, and effect.

THE OFFICE OF THE JUDGE PROMOTED BY VIVIAN, CLERK, *v.* WILLIAMS AND HIBON.

The facts which gave occasion to the present suit are briefly these :—Soon after the great fire, in the reign of Charles II., the two parishes of St. Augustine and St. Faith, in the city of London, became united, but not in so complete a manner as unions are usually effected, for though they had but one church, and one incumbent, they were for all other purposes preserved in a condition as distinct as possible ; each parish elected its own officers ; and an agreement was entered into, many years since, that the officers of St. Faith should have the management of the

duties of the church during eight months of the year, and those of St. Augustine during four months. It appeared that Elizabeth Carter, a blind woman, was elected organist in 1812, by both parishes, and that they continued to elect her annually, along with the other parish officers, until 1831, when Dr. Vivian objected to her, on the alleged ground of her incompetency, but the parishioners were still satisfied with her, and refused to elect any one else. This occasioned a disagreement between the parishioners and Dr. Vivian, which ended in a refusal on the part of Dr. Vivian, to allow the blind woman to officiate as organist any longer ; and the parishioners persisting in their determination not to have any other, he gave orders to close the organ, and it was not used during divine service for seven months, which caused many of the parishioners to leave their parish church. The parishioners then appealed to the Bishop of London, and his lordship having agreed to become mediator, granted an interview to the churchwardens and Dr. Vivian. He stated to them the law of the case was, that the parishioners had the right to elect the organist, but that the incumbent had the regulation of the service, and consequently could use or suspend the organ as he thought proper. To settle the dispute, he suggested that each party should give way, and recommended that the blind woman should take lessons from a professor of music for six months, and at the end of that time to play before Dr. Crotch, the President of the Royal Academy of Music, and if he gave her a certificate pronouncing her competent to discharge the duties of organist, his Lordship said Dr. Vivian ought not to object to her ; this recommendation was agreed to by all parties. It appeared that long before the end of the six months she played before Dr. Crotch, who gave her the requisite certificate, in which he said she played in a better style than organists generally do, and that she was perfectly qualified for the situation. The parishioners, with a view to remove all doubt, got her to play before six other eminent

organists, who gave her certificates to the same effect. They were all laid before Dr. Vivian, who still persisted in refusing to allow her to perform upon the organ. After the organ had been shut for so long a time, the parishioners of St. Faith elected another organist, a man of the name of Peck, and allowed a pension for life to the blind woman, to the full amount of the salary she had received during the proceedings twenty years. The parishioners of St. Augustine still persisted in electing the blind woman. It was then agreed between the two parishes that the separate organists should officiate during the period the churchwardens and other officers had the management of the church. Peck consequently acted as organist during the eight months the officers of St. Faith did the duties, which expired the end of last year. As soon as the officers of St. Augustine took the management of the church, the churchwardens informed Dr. Vivian that their organist would wait upon him to receive his instructions respecting the music for the following Sunday. He sent them a lawyer's letter refusing to comply with their request, and threatened them with the consequences if they interfered with Peck. They, however, placed the blind woman at the organ early on the following Sunday morning, and when Peck came at his usual time he found the organ pre-occupied. This suit was therefore instituted against the churchwardens for preventing and obstructing Peck.

Mr. WILLIAMS, in contending that the articles should not be admitted, said one of the first objections he should make to the admission of the articles was, that the person who was the chief promoter of the accusations against him, styled himself James William Vivian, Doctor of Divinity. Now, he could prove that no person of that name had taken priest's orders for the last hundred years in this country. He had looked into the archives of the Herald's College, and there found the name of James William Viven. Besides this error, he had discovered another; for, in searching that individual's pedigree, he

found that his father was designated a merchant of London, whereas he was in reality nothing more than a white-washer.

Dr. ADDAMS rose, and warmly objected to such statements.

Mr. WILLIAMS said he would attend to the learned Judge's request; but could not help saying, that if there was anything like a denial of justice, it proceeded from the learned doctor's continually starting up, barking at, and interrupting him in the course of his observations. He trusted his lordship would interfere, and not permit Dr. Addams to display so much officiousness. When he mentioned the misspelling of Dr. Vivian's name, he did it to establish a misnomer; for he thought by so doing, the case would fall to the ground. He now begged to submit, that the charge brought against him was for an alleged offence, of which the Court could not take cognizance; and that the real question was, whether Dr. Vivian had a right to deprive a poor blind woman of her office of organist, to which she had been appointed by the unanimous votes of the parishioners. He would comment on the articles severally and in regular rotation, though the only one that related to the charge was the tenth. With respect to the first article, stating that the parishes of St. Augustine and St. Faith were united, he contended, and he could prove, that they were distinct in every matter, except as far as regarded the incumbent and clerk.

Dr. LUSHINGTON said that the Court must assert its rights, and not allow facts to be disproved.

Mr. WILLIAMS said that he appeared in court as an Englishman, to answer to a false charge, and prove his own innocency; he therefore trusted that a little more limit than usual would be accorded to him, and coming to the tenth article, which contained the great charge; that of at an early hour introducing Mrs. Carter to the organ-loft of St. Augustine's, and thus pre-occupying Peck's place, who had been elected by the united parishes; here was no proof that he was elected by the united pa-

ishes. The charge in the citation differed from that in the tenth article, for there, it was for "obstructing John Peck in his office of organist, at and during divine service." That was a manifest contradiction, for the citation and tenth article did by no means tally; consequently the case must fall to the ground. A citation was in reality an indictment. Now, if at the Old Bailey the indictment charged one with stealing a jackass and pannier, and the evidence proved that it was a lawyer and his wig, the charge would be instantly dismissed. The two cases were the same, and the variation in the citation and articles was quite sufficient to have the present charge dismissed out of court. Mr. Williams, after laying considerable stress upon the difference between the charge in the citation and that in the articles, said that the Court could not decide the case; and if its judgment were in favour of the admission of the articles, it would be ordering churchwardens to violate the law with respect to the election of parish officers. Though it might be unpleasant to violate the injunctions of that Court, he would rather do so than break through what he considered the constitutional laws of the country. His Lordship's judgment, whichever way it went, could not settle the real dispute. A superior Court must decide upon it. He said in the twelfth article it was objected to him, that he resided in his own house. He trusted Dr. Vivian was present to state his ground for this objection.

Dr. LUSHINGTON observed that was only a matter of form in drawing the articles.

Mr. WILLIAMS said he could only look at the fact as it appeared upon the face of the paper, he thought it unfortunate that Dr. Vivian, while he objected to him residing in his own house, that he had forgotten at the same time to object to him paying tithes; but, instead of that, he always found him amongst his flock in the shearing season. He begged to point out to his Lordship the case in Haggard's reports—that of Hutchins v. Denziloe and Loveland. Here was a positive offence,

yet Lord Stowell suspended the admission of the articles until the following term, and recommended the parties to take the sense of the parishioners. He (Mr. W.) and his fellow churchwarden took the sense of their fellow-parishioners on Thursday last, and the result was highly commendatory of their conduct. He concluded by trusting that his Lordship would see that he had made out a sufficient case to have the articles dismissed.

Mr. HIBON said that he would not have attempted to address the Court, could he have obtained the legal assistance of the King's Advocate.

Dr. LUSHINGTON—Very well; I shall myself be glad to hear the King's Advocate on the subject. Let the case then stand over until the next Court.

Monday, February 11., Dr. LUSHINGTON, after having heard the arguments of the King's Advocate against the admissibility of the articles of accusation, pronounced the judgment of the Court. He observed that this was a criminal proceeding against these two gentlemen, preferred by the Rev. Dr. VIVIAN, but that a matter of civil right of the rev. gentleman was put forth in the articles exhibited against them, and he held it to be a general principle that the Court was averse to entertain such articles, seeing that it would be a stretch of the jurisdiction of the Court. To this case he had given a most painful attention, and particularly to the 10th article, which was the chief one, and which charged the churchwardens with obstructing the organist Peck in his office, and during divine service; but, with regard to the other articles, he would, if he admitted them, have to examine the competency of the parish to elect its officers, the capacity of those officers, and other things totally beyond his jurisdiction. He would scruple long before he laid down any rule which should have the effect of depriving the church of its rights, but he had not jurisdiction over the rights of parishioners and their functionaries; and he must say, that to allow the incum-

bent a right to negative the election of the parish, went very far towards vesting him with the power of appointment. It was well known that the incumbent can order what tunes shall be played upon the organ, and what shall not; nay, he may forbid the playing upon the organ at all; but he was not aware of any case in which he had a right to resist the sense of the parish, when it had decided who should be the organist. The case of *Hutchins v. Denziloe* had been referred to, and that certainly was a rather aggravated case of obstructing performance during divine service, by the churchwardens, and against the sense of the parishioners, and also against the sense of the diocesan; yet there even Lord STOWELL recommended an accommodation, and put off the hearing of the case for a term. And if that case did not amount to a clear case of breach of ecclesiastical law, still less did this one in which it did not appear that a disturbance had been created, nor that the wishes of the parish had been frustrated. After great consideration, therefore, the thought that no breach of the ecclesiastical law had been committed by the churchwardens, and that it would be injudicious to extend the jurisdiction of the Court to matters not strictly within its province, he should reject the articles, but upon the whole he thought it best to say nothing about costs.

Parties left to pay their respective costs.

STATE OF PUBLIC MATTERS.

Bolt-court, 14. February, 1833.

THE meeting of Parliament has, as was natural, produced the effect of opening people's eyes with regard to the views of the servants of the King. The great question with the people was, whether the Ministers intended to make *any change in the manner of governing the country*; and particularly with regard to the burdens of taxation under which the people groan. A great part of the nation thought much about

the two questions connected with political liberty: namely, the Septennial Bill and the want of the ballot; but the main object of anxiety with all men of sense was, *the taxes*; and they wished speedily to ascertain whether this reform was likely to produce a change in this respect or not; whether it was likely to put an end to the grinding down of the people for the purpose of enriching the aristocracy, their relations, their dependents, and all the tribes which hang about their heels; in short, the nation knew, that there were 113 of this aristocracy, for instance, who are receiving out of the taxes six hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year; they knew that this sum was equal to that which 163,220 industrious weavers have to live upon in the course of a year; they knew that these 113 men received annually as much as the whole of the poor-rates of the counties of Bedford, Berks, Bucks, Cambridge, and Chester, and, that they received more than twice as much as the whole of the poor-rates in the twelve counties of the principality of Wales. The people knew these things perfectly well; they had long been suffering under them; and the question with them was, whether they should continue to be condemned to incessant work and to half starvation at the same time for the sake of thus heaping money on the great and squandering families; or whether they should experience that change which they always expected a reform of the Parliament would produce.

The people were never theoretical babblers upon this subject; never wanted reform for the mere *name* of it: they were no enthusiasts, and no coxcombs, that wanted to make a stir in the country for the mere gratification of a JERRY BENTHAMITE *whim*. I appeal to their *petitions*: I appeal to the petitions of 1817, when the grand stand was made; when they prayed that reform might be given them in order that unmerited pensions, sinecures, and emoluments, might be abolished; that the standing army, in time of peace, might be reduced to the standard of 1792; that the

salaries of persons in public employ might be reduced to the standard at which they were before the depreciation of the money. It was for these reasonable and just things that the people demanded parliamentary reform. There were, indeed, and in all countries there always will be, some few *crotchety* and whimsical men, who seek after some speculative good; but these men were not one to one hundred thousand; and I have never seen one such man; never one single BENTHAMITE, who was always seeking after something of a new and queer kind; never knew one of them in my life who was prone to set his bones to labour of any kind whatever; always calling upon Jupiter to get them out of the slough, and never laying the lash heartily upon the backs of the jades that ought to have kept it out of the slough; and, above all things, never clapping their own lazy shoulders to the wheel. These men have been seeking the "perfectability of man;" the "improvements of the age;" the "extension of civilization;" extremely anxious to extend their benevolence, to their "*fellow-men*" who have very black and shining, and very well-stuffed, skins; but never one word from them to restore to the weaver or the ploughman, the full belly, the jovial pot of beer, the good clothing and the good lodging which are their due; but, I have always found them mum as mice upon the subject of public plunder; always eager to support "vested interests;" and always still more eager to get part of the plunder themselves. These hypocrites have amused and bewildered a small portion of the people; but that portion has been very small indeed. The people have wanted their burdens to be lightened; this has been the burden of their demand: they have wanted no whimsical changes: at the end of twenty-seven years' fight between me and these speculative politicians, point me out one of them, or any score of them, on whom the people have a ten thousandth part of the reliance that they have upon me. The character of the whole of the British nation is that

of plain, solid, quiet, good sense, with as much sincerity as ever fell to the lot of human beings, and with as little proneness to envy or vindictive feelings; and disliking flattery, come in what shape it may. They do not desire to be all of them kings, or great men; they do not desire to be let loose from the restraints of just law; and, as to leading an idle life, they would not lead it if they could; but they desire to live well, according to their several stations in life; and they wanted a reform in the Parliament, that they might be enabled to live as their grandfathers had lived; and, if this reformed House of Commons were not to take some effectual steps towards a restoration to that happy state, they, to be sure, would not be content; and not persevere in that patient endurance which so long has marked their conduct.

When the Whigs came into office in 1806, the people expected a very great change in the system of ruling the country. We all know how they were disappointed. It was then, as now, a coalition between the Pittites and the Whigs in the ministry. The latter wanted to get into office, and they could not do it without a junction with the former; and the condition which the former exacted was, that there should be no change in the system. Hence the Whigs became first suspected, and then detested. Instead of a lessening of taxation, it was, in one great instance, nearly doubled by them; and that, too, in a tax which they had denominated a highwayman's tax, and which they said made *resistance no longer a question of right but a question of prudence*. That ministry did all manner of the most shameful things; and they were more persecuting than any one that we had seen before. They came into office in January, 1806. In the month of October, 1806, they dissolved the Parliament, in order to get a House of Commons of their own; and, it was upon that occasion that Sir FRANCIS BURDETT, offering himself as a candidate for Middlesex, began his address, in the memorable words which I quoted in the House of Commons the other night.



"When contending parties and factions, in a state, unite, it is never in favour, but always at the expense of the people, whose renewed and augmented pillage is sure to pay the price of the scandalous reconciliation;" a sentence more beautiful in point of construction, more abounding with true political wisdom, more pertinent in point of application, and more patriotic in point of motive, never having dropped from the pen or tongue of mortal man. Until that sentence was written, I, who had been but a little while in possession of any knowledge regarding English politics, remained somewhat in adherence to the Whigs. It took but a very short time after that to place me in the right path, in which I trust I have continued ever since.

The present is another coalition Ministry, based, without doubt, on the same principle as that on which the ministry of 1806 was founded; and the consequence is, that we hear not the smallest intimation of any intention, not only to make a material change in the whole system, but even to take off a single tax of any description. But will the Ministry be able to adhere to this throughout the present session? I hope that they will not, and I trust they will not. The people ought not to judge of what is to take place, by that which has taken place since the Parliament met. On the question relating to the King's speech, the members had had no time for reflection, the great majority of them came together under the notion that there was still going on a struggle between the Whigs and the Tories; and that, if they voted against the address, they would, in fact, be *voting for the Tories!* What must have been their surprise, then, when they saw the two parties unite, and when they found themselves in a thundering majority, huddled in amongst those very Tories; and what will be their mortification very soon, when they find that they must vote for the keeping on of every tax; when they must violate, most barefacedly, all their pledges to the people, or be in a minority along with us, against the united Ministry and Tories!

That is the predicament in which they will find themselves; and I venture to predict, that when we shall come to a division on *the house and window-tax*, the two honourable Members for Westminster (who, by-the-by, are now my representatives) will be in the minority, opposed to both Whigs and Tories; that is to say, that they will thus find themselves, unless they vote in direct opposition to the prayers of their constituents. Thus it will be with regard to the *septennial Parliament motion*, to the *ballot motion*, and to every other motion having a tendency to make a change in the system, or to produce relief for the people. I do not say, or at least it is going too far to say, that they will find themselves in a minority, because it is quite possible that they may not; but then there is this to be said, that the Ministers must give way, set the Tories at defiance, and rely upon the people. If they do this, not a more cordial supporter, not one man less disposed to embarrass them, and more disposed to give them time, will they, amongst all their hungry expectants even, find, than they will find in me, who envy them not either their riches or their power, and who have no other object than restoring to the people their liberty and their happiness.

With regard to the proceedings connected with the long debate on the King's speech, nothing could be more reasonable, nothing more just, nothing more necessary, nothing more consonant with sound policy, to which I may add, nothing more *successful*, than the *stand* which was made. In the first place, it was right that the House should have time, and particularly a new House of Parliament, *duly to reflect* on a document of such vast importance, especially as it called upon the House to enable the King's servants to exercise *powers beyond the ordinary law* over so large a part of his Majesty's subjects. The custom of our wise ancestors was, to agree, at once, to a short address, thanking the King for having made a speech to them; and then they immediately *appointed a day for taking it into their consideration*.

At a later period, when the Parliament had become more a tool in the hands of the Ministers, that practice was left off, and the speech was merely read the day before it was delivered in Parliament, to such members as chose to go and hear it read at the Cock-pit. PITT, in the plenitude of his insolent power, dropped this practice, also; gave the House not an hour to consider the speech; but wrote an answer to it beforehand, gave it to a mover and seconder which he appointed beforehand, brought it down to the House, and passed it that very same night; and that practice has been continued from that day to this. But, ought not a reformed Parliament to have been differently treated? Ought not the good old practice to have been restored? Therefore nothing could be more proper than the motion of Mr. O'CONNELL to refer the speech to a *committee of the whole House*, in order that the House might have time to consider it and well deliberate upon it. This would have been proper under any circumstances; but, when the speech called upon us to vote "*additional powers!*" Additional powers, gracious God! to those which are now exercised in Ireland! Were we not, when so called upon, to take a night to sleep upon the subject? were we, off hand, to agree to an echo to a call like that? For my part, I was determined to have a night to sleep upon the speech; but, when I saw such a speech to answer, I was resolved that it should see a Sunday before it should receive an answer from that House; and, let my readers look at the state of the matter *now*, and say whether the stand that was made was not prudent as well as just.

With regard to the question as far as related to Ireland, the Ministers, by their interpretation of it, caused it to be founded on proceedings in Ireland with regard to the repeal of the union. The union was made by act of Parliament, and it may be repealed by act of Parliament. No man had proposed to repeal it by force. It was a matter to be considered and discussed if meddled with at all. For my part, I never would

even have entered upon the discussion without a great deal more information than I possessed upon the subject. But it was most outrageous to attack Mr. O'CONNELL by the mouth of the noble Lord who moved the address, on account of speeches which he had made in Ireland; and to contend that it was right to empower the King to suspend the laws of protection on account of those speeches. He was fully justified in characterising the address in the words in which he did characterise it; and my real opinion is, that, if a resolute stand had not been made against it, instead of the *Church Bill*, which has been moved for, we should have had the *Additional-power Bill* moved for the very night after the delivery of the King's speech. To give members time to reflect was every thing, looking upon them as being honest and honourable men. Mr. STANLEY told the House, that the Government must be FEARED; that it must be *feared* BEFORE it could be loved. Who, therefore, without stopping to examine the soundness of this political philosophy; who can believe that the measures of additional powers were not to come FIRST? By the delay we gained three great things; first, time for the members of the House to reflect; second, time for the Irish members to defend their country, which they did most nobly; which they did in a manner to excite envy in all who heard them; and which, while it reflects the greatest honour on themselves, will tend to awaken in every English bosom feelings of attachment towards their harassed and persecuted country. But thirdly, and of more importance than all the rest, it gave the *people of England time to reflect*; and our DIVISIONS, which the *Times* newspaper would fain make a subject of ridicule, effected that which could have been effected by no other means: it compelled the two parties openly to join. It drew forth from Sir ROBERT PEEL the "*articles of union*;" it put into our mouths the celebrated words of the hon. Baronet, the Member for Westminster; and, in short, it accomplished everything, and more than

everything, that we could hope to accomplish at so early a period. Above all things, these divisions attracted the attentive and watchful eyes of the people; and, it prepared them for expressing their opinions upon these measures with regard to Ireland, which, as every man must clearly see, were intended to be merely preparatory to similar measures for England, if similar grounds should be discovered; and that similar grounds will soon be discovered, every one must be convinced, who observes how things stand on this very day, the 14. of *February*; for, why are the measures to be adopted; because the honourable Member for DUBLIN and many others, propose that there shall be a repeal of the Union; *the repeal of an act of Parliament, of only thirty-two years' standing, while the people of England are demanding the repeal of an Act of Parliament of a hundred and seventeen years' standing.* But more of this presently, and let us now hear what were the opinions of the present Lord Chancellor of Ireland, with regard to this "*fundamental and sacred compact,*" as it is called. What did he (who was then a member of the Irish Parliament) say, when that Act of Parliament was under discussion? These were his words:

"Sir, I, in the most express terms, deny the competency of Parliament to do this act. I warn you, do not dare to lay your hand on the constitution. I tell you, that, if circumstanced as you are, you pass this act, it will be a nullity, and that no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it. I make the assertion deliberately—I repeat it; and I call on any man who hears me, to take down my words; you have not been elected for this purpose—you are appointed to make laws, not legislatures—you are appointed to act under the constitution, not to alter it—you are appointed to exercise the functions of legislators and not to transfer them—and if you do so your act is a dissolution of the government—you resolve society into its original elements, and no man in

*the land is bound to obey you * **
 "For my own part, I will resist it to the last gasp of my existence and with the last drop of my blood, and when I feel the hour of my dissolution approaching, I will, like the father of Hannibal, take my children to the altar, and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their country's freedom. Sir, I shall not detain you by pursuing this question through the topics which it abundantly offers. I should be proud to think my name might be handed down to posterity in the same roll with those disinterested patriots who have successfully resisted the enemies of their country—successfully I trust it will be—in all events I have my exceeding great reward—I shall bear in my heart the consciousness of having done my duty, and in the hour of death I shall not be haunted by the reflection of having basely sold or meanly abandoned the liberties of my native land. Can every man who gives his vote on the other side this night lay his hand upon his heart and make the same declaration? I hope so, it will be well for his own peace—the indignation and abhorrence of his countrymen will not accompany him through life, and the curses of his children will not follow him to his grave."

It would be waste of time and of paper to bestow commentary on this; and, it is only necessary to state, that this same man joined the GRENVILLES and Whigs in 1806; that he came in again with CANNING; that he was then made a peer; that he is now Lord Chancellor of Ireland; that all his sons and near relations are either in the church, or in some other way of receiving great emoluments; that whether he took them to the altar to swear eternal hostility to the union, we do not know; but that we do know that, if additional powers be granted for carrying on the government of Ireland, *this very man will be the chief depository of those powers, which are avowedly intended to stifle even any discussion with regard to that very union, to*

eternal hostility to which, he said he would swear his children, and the supporting of which, he said, would cause every supporter's children to follow him with curses to the grave.

Now, was it too much to require a few days to deliberate before we gave our assent to put *additional powers* into the hands of such men? I put this question to the justice of my readers: I ask them, how they would like to have such measures adopted with regard to *themselves*? And now I have to tell them, that there is *just as good ground* for "*additional powers*" in England, as there is for "*additional powers*" in Ireland; and while I make this assertion good, I beg their attention to me.

What are the repealers asking for? Why, the repeal of an act of Parliament, which they allege to be injurious to Ireland. And what are the people of England asking for, what is the city of LONDON asking for? Why, amongst other things, for A REPEAL OF THE SEPTENNIAL BILL, which is *a hundred and seventeen years old*, while the Act of Union with Ireland is *only thirty years old*. Upon what ground is there not a similarity between the two cases? The two cases are, in all respects, as nearly parallel as possible. We all know how injurious the Septennial Bill has been to the whole kingdom; and shall we not listen to the Irish, while they state the injuries which they say the Act of Union has inflicted upon Ireland? Severely as the Act of Union was reprobated by the present Lord Chancellor of that country, the Septennial Bill was as severely reprobated by many members of the then Parliament in England, who called it a daring usurpation of the people's rights, who thereupon quitted the House, and who never entered it again. Curious, and interestingly curious, also, while the person who is the chief of the Government in Ireland, reprobated the Act of Union in the manner that we have just seen, the person (Lord GREY) who is at the head of the administration in England, has given us in black and white, and placed

upon the records of Parliament, his reprobation of the Septennial Bill, the repeal of which *he, in his petition, of 1793, stated amongst the great objects of a reform of the House of Commons*. Oh, God! one loses one's breath in attempting to utter these things!

Let any one point out, then, if he can, any ground for the giving "*additional powers*" in Ireland, which will not apply equally well for giving "*additional powers*" in England, the moment a petition is heard of for the repeal of the Septennial Bill; and such petitions will be carried to the House very soon. Here is another set of "*repealers*;" and therefore we must have another "*Additional-power Bill*," proposed, too, to those, a very large portion of whom are positively pledged to vote for such repeal! This is enough for the present upon the subject of Ireland; and, it may reconcile those who are "*tired of the talk about Ireland*," to think a little more of the matter. If the wearisomness arose out of the question of "*the imports and exports*," let it be recollected, that that matter was not stirred by those who opposed the address; let it be recollected, that it was stirred up by Mr. RICHARDS and Mr. TANCRED, who brought it forward to prove that the union had been good instead of being bad; and, in effect, to justify the proposition for giving "*additional powers*." All these arguments about "*imports and exports*," were answered by my honourable and unanswerable colleague, Mr. FIELDEN. Let the public recollect this. Before I go further, the address which I moved as an amendment upon the address of the Ministers, I shall insert:

"MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN—We, your Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, in Parliament assembled, express to your Majesty our humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

"We thank your Majesty for the information which your Majesty has been graciously pleased to communicate to us relative to those proceed-

"ings which your Majesty, in virtue of
 "your constitutional and just preroga-
 "tive, has caused to be adopted with re-
 "gard to Portugal, Belgium, and Hol-
 "land: and, being perfectly assured
 "that every act of your Majesty with
 "regard to those countries will proceed
 "from that anxious solicitude with
 "your Majesty has constantly evinced
 "to promote the interests of your duti-
 "ful people, and to maintain the ho-
 "nour of the kingdom we give your
 "Majesty our assurance, that we shall
 "receive with the greatest respect,
 "and shall bestow our best and most
 "sedulous attention upon, those various
 "papers relating to the affairs of Hol-
 "land and Belgium, which your Ma-
 "jesty has been graciously pleased to
 "intimate that your Majesty has given
 "directions to be laid before us.

"We assure your Majesty, that, with
 "regard to the charters of the Bank of
 "England and the East India Company,
 "we shall enter with care and diligence
 "on a revision of those establishments;
 "and that the best of our endeavours
 "will be employed to arrive at such a
 "decision as shall be best calculated to
 "secure real and solid public credit, as
 "well as to promote the general pros-
 "perity and power of your Majesty's
 "kingdom.

"Well knowing, and most acutely
 "feeling, the sorrowful effects of the pre-
 "sent mode of maintaining the clergy
 "of the established church, both in
 "England and Ireland, we are pecu-
 "liarly grateful to your Majesty for
 "having suggested to us the making of
 "very great and extensive alterations
 "with regard to the temporalities of
 "that church; and it is with particular
 "earnestness that we beg your Majesty
 "to be assured, that we shall enter
 "upon the task with all the patience,
 "all the diligence, and all the absence
 "of passion and of prejudice, which
 "the interesting and momentous sub-
 "ject so imperiously demands; and that
 "we confidently hope, that the result
 "of our consultations will tend to the
 "good of the church, the safety, ho-
 "nour, and welfare of your Majesty
 "and your kingdom; and that this

"most important matter will be so or-
 "dered and settled by our endeavours,
 "that peace and happiness, truth and
 "justice, religion and piety, may be
 "established amongst us for all gene-
 "rations.

"While we humbly present to your
 "Majesty our most grateful thanks for
 "having been graciously pleased to
 "assure us that your Majesty has di-
 "rected the estimates for the service of
 "the ensuing year to be framed with
 "the most anxious attention to economy;
 "and while we assure your Majesty
 "that nothing shall be wanting on our
 "part to reward habits of industry and
 "promote good order amongst the la-
 "bouring classes of the community,
 "our bounden duty to our constituents,
 "as well as to your Majesty, compels
 "us to express to your Majesty our
 "deep regret that your Majesty
 "should not have been advised gra-
 "ciously to suggest to us to con-
 "sider of the means of lightening the
 "numerous and heavy burdens which
 "are a discouragement to that industry,
 "and which so cruelly oppress those
 "meritorious and suffering classes; and
 "we assure your Majesty that we will,
 "with all diligence and zeal, proceed
 "to an investigation of the causes which
 "have produced those burdens and
 "their consequent sufferings, and to
 "the adoption of measures which shall,
 "in our judgment, be calculated to pro-
 "duce effectual and permanent relief.

"Most sincerely do we participate
 "with your Majesty in that pain which
 "your Majesty's paternal solicitude for
 "the welfare of your people has in-
 "duced your Majesty graciously to ex-
 "press with regard to the disturbances
 "in Ireland; and we assure your Ma-
 "jesty that we shall be ready, at all
 "times, to adopt any constitutional mea-
 "sures that may be necessary for con-
 "trolling and punishing the disturbers
 "of the public peace, and for preserv-
 "ing and strengthening those ties which
 "connect the two countries in indisso-
 "luble bonds of loyalty to your Majesty,
 "deeming, as we do, a separation of the
 "two countries to be fraught with de-
 "struction to the peace, security, and

"welfare of your Majesty's dominions ;
 "and, convinced as we are that nothing
 "but unjust and cruel treatment of our
 "fellow-subjects in Ireland can ever in-
 "duce any portion of them to desire
 "such separation, we most solemnly
 "assure your Majesty that we will
 "never give our sanction to their being
 "treated with injustice and cruelty, and
 "that we will, with the smallest pos-
 "sible delay, proceed to the considera-
 "tion of means of redressing those ma-
 "nifold grievances under which they
 "have so long been suffering, and which
 "are, we are firmly convinced, the real
 "cause of the present unhappy dis-
 "turbances."

The division upon this address was *three hundred and twenty-three to twenty-three*. Of this *twenty-three* were JOHN FIELDEN and WILLIAM COBBETT, GEORGE KINLOCH, member for DUNDEE, the rest were Irish gentlemen whose names I have not been able to collect, but of whom Mr. O'CONNELL was one. Mr. FAITHFUL was unavoidably absent.

Now Mr. HUME voted against this amendment ; and his reason was, that it was unnecessary, because it amounted to the same thing in substance as the amendment which had been moved by Mr. TENNYSON. Let us see, then, what was the amendment of Mr. TENNYSON. Here it is :

"That if, under the circumstances
 "which may be disclosed to us, we
 "should be induced to trust his Ma-
 "jesty with additional powers, we shall
 "feel it our duty to accompany that
 "acquiescence by a close and diligent
 "investigation into the causes of dis-
 "content in Ireland, with a view to the
 "application of prompt and effectual
 "remedies ; and that although it is our
 "duty to receive the petitions of the
 "people of Ireland with regard to the
 "Legislative Union between the two
 "countries, and to leave ourselves free
 "to consider that subject, yet we are
 "ready to support his Majesty in main-
 "taining that Union against all lawless
 "attempts to de'teat it, or to invade the
 "peace, security, and welfare of his
 "Majesty's dominions."

Is this the "*same in substance*" as

my address ? Here is not a word about England and Scotland ; not a word about the sufferings of the people here, whom the speech urges us to push on to work harder than they now work : not a word about the enormous burdens which the working people bear : nothing but about Ireland, and even here an admission that "*additional powers*" may be found necessary. Next came Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD with his amendment, and with his *reasons* for voting against my address, which were not such as I could very clearly understand. His amendment was as follows :

"That that House pledged itself to
 "adopt such measures for the improve-
 "ment of the agricultural and manu-
 "facturing population of the country,
 "as could alone promote good order
 "and happiness throughout the indus-
 "trious classes of the community. And
 "that as soon as the House shall have
 "adopted such measures as may appear
 "to be necessary to redress the wrongs
 "and relieve the distresses of Ireland,
 "should such measures prove ineffectual
 "in putting down disturbance, and in
 "restoring tranquillity, *we shall be*
 "*ready to adopt such measures of salu-*
 "*tary precaution as may be deemed*
 "*advisable.*"

This, at any rate, does make some allusion to England and Scotland ; but does it say, that which is said in the last paragraph but one of the address proposed by me ? Does it say a word about the heavy burdens which the people have to bear ? Is there anything but a vague proposition for *improving* their situation, which may mean as much or as little as any man pleases ; and, as to Ireland, here again we have an admission that "*additional powers*" may be necessary.

There is no doubt but that a few weeks will bring out all the parties and place them fairly before the people. In the mean while this fight has produced immense benefit : the just and quick-sighted people will soon know how to appreciate the motives, as well as the conduct, of the several actors. Questions will soon come on that will put the House to the test ; and then every

man will be found in his proper place ; his proper place will be known, and he will have assigned to him the station which he will have to hold in the estimation of the country. At present the House cannot be fairly judged of. A great many of the members are taken by surprise : the want of room in the House, the monstrous inconvenience, even of sitting and of moving about : these have a great deal to do with the matter. These strangers will, by degrees, become better acquainted with the whole of the affair ; and then they will give their opinion deliberately.

When we begin to *vote money* ; then we shall see who is for making the parliamentary reform effectual, and who is not. A proposition to take off a tax will be the real test ; for, according to appearances ; judging from the speech from the throne, and judging from the words of the Ministers, it really does appear to me that no tax of any description is intended to be taken off. With regard to the business now before the House, there is no occasion for any particular exertion. It will be next week before there will be any proposition for the granting of money ; and as to the Irish church affair, it would be premature to discuss that until the *bill* be printed and in the hands of the members. In the meanwhile, however, I congratulate my readers that a chop has been given to the stem of this tree. It is a mere chop ; but it is a *beginning* : it establishes the great principle for which I have always contended ; namely, that the House of Commons and the other two branches of the legislature, have a right to do what they please with what is called church property, supposing the members of the House of Commons to be chosen by the free voice of the people.

I insert here a list of the two first minorities ; because I am very sure, that this whole struggle will become a memorable one. I should have observed, that Mr. Attwood did not press his motion to a division, for which I was very sorry.

MINORITY ON MR. O'CONNELL'S *Motion, on the 8. of February.*—For it 42, against it 430.

ENGLAND—6 MEMBERS.

Attwood, Thomas, Birmingham
Cobbett, William, Oldham
Fielden, John, ditto
Faithful, G., Brighthelmstone
Hume, Joseph, Middlesex
Kennedy, James, Tiverton

SCOTLAND—2 MEMBERS.

Kinloch, George, Dundee
Wallace, Robert, Greenock

IRELAND—32 MEMBERS.

Baldwin, Dr., Cork city
Barron, P., Waterford County
Butler, Hon. P., Kilkenny County
Chapman, M.L., Westmeath County
Fitzsimon, N., King's County
Fitzsimon, Charles, Dublin County
Fitzgerald, Thomas, Louth County
Finn, W. F., Kilkenny County
Grattan, Henry, Meath County
Keane, Sir R., Bart., Waterford Co.
Lalor, Patrick, Queen's County
Lynch, A. H., Galway Town
M'Loughlin, ditto ditto
Nagle, Sir Richard, Bart., Westmeath County
O'Brien, Cornelius, Clare County
O'Connell, Maurice, Tralee
O'Connell, John, Youghall
O'Connell, Morgan, Meath County
O'Conner, Fergus, Cork County
O'Dwyer, A. C., Drogheda
Ruthven, Edw. Kildare County
Roche, William, Limerick City
Roche, David, Limerick City
Roe, James, Cashell
Roche, J. H., Longford County
Sheil, R. I., Tipperary County
Sullivan, Richard, Kilkenny City
Talbot, J. H., New Ross
Walker, C. A., Wexford Town
White, Luke, Longford County
Wallace, Thos., Carlow County
Vigors, N. A., Carlow Borough

Tellers.

O'Connell, D., Dublin City
Ruthven, E. S., ditto

Minority on Mr. Tennyson's Motion, 8. of February. Three hundred and ninety-five against it; and sixty-two for it.

ENGLAND.

Attwood, Thomas, Birmingham
Butler, Charles, Liskeard
Brotherton, Josh., Salford
Beauclerk, Major, East Surrey
Cobbett, William, Oldham
Fielden, John, Oldham
Faithful, Geo., Brighthelmstone
Fryer, Richard, Wolverhampton
Gaskell, Daniel, Wakefield
Grote, George, City of London
Hume, Joseph, Middlesex
Humphery, John, Southwark
Hutt, Wm., Kingston-upon-Hull
Harvey, D. W., Colchester
Kennedy, James, Tiverton
Lloyd, J. H., Stockport
Molesworth, Sir William, Bart., East Cornwall
Palmer, General, Bath
Potter, Richard, Wigan
Phillips, Mark, Manchester
Roebuck, I. A., Bath
Warburton, Henry, Bridport

SCOTLAND.

Kinloch, George, Dundee
Wallace, Robert, Greenock

IRELAND.

Baldwin, Dr., Cork City
Barron, Pierce, Waterford City
Butler, Hon. P., Kilkenny County
Chapman, M. L., Westmeath County
Fitzsimon, N., King's County
Fitzsimon, C., Dublin County
Fitzgerald, Thomas, Louth County
French, Fitzstephen, Roscommon Co.
Finn, W. F., Kilkenny County
Grattan, Henry, Meath County
Keane, Sir Rd., Bart., Waterford Co.
Lalor, Patrick, Queen's County
Lynch, A. H., Galway Town
M'Laughlin, ditto ditto
Nagle, Sir R., Bart., Westmeath Co.
O'Brien, Cornelius, Clare County
O'Connell, Daniel, Dublin City
O'Connell, Maurice, Tralee
O'Connell, John, Youghall
O'Connell, Morgan, Meath County
O'Connor, Fergus, Cork County

O'Dwyer, A. C., Drogheda
O'Reilly, W., Dundalk
Ruthven, E. S., Dublin City
Ruthven, Ed., Kildare County
Roche, W., Limerick City
Roche, D., ditto ditto
Roche, J. H., Longford County
Roe, James, Cashell
Sheil, R. L., Tipperary County
Sullivan, R., Kilkenny City
Talbot, J. H., New Ross
Walker, C. A., Wexford Town
White, Luke, Longford County
Wallace, T., Carlow County
Vigors, N. A., Carlow Borough

Tellers.

Tennyson, C., Lambeth
Bulwer, E. L., Lincoln.

Before the next *Register* I will endeavour to ascertain the names of those who voted in the minority of twenty-three, and, as all bodies of constituents will have a clear ground for concluding that every member not found in the minority, voted in the majority, and is entitled to all the praise due to such voting, it will be quite sufficient for all useful purposes to publish lists of the minority.

PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

ADJOURNED DEBATE.

Wednesday, 6. Feb.

Mr. D. W. HARVEY said he must make a few observations on this important subject. He thought that something effective was expected from this new Parliament, and he hoped that there were men in it who were capable of distinguishing in a proper manner between well-turned periods and common sense. What was the question now before the House? Ministers had not stated to Parliament what were the plans they contemplated, when they suffered the constructions that had been put upon that part of his Majesty's speech which related to Ireland, and seemed to recognise by their silence, that it was in the contemplation of his Majesty's Government to declare Ireland out of the range of the constitution, and to ask the Parliament to declare war against that country, and to make that declaration on the confidence placed in them alone, and from no other proof of the necessity of adopting such a severe step. He believed they would find that that degree of confidence was not placed in

them; that it would not be given to every set of men; and that most certainly the Parliament would not consent to destroy that palladium, the trial by jury, and to infuse sectarianism into the jury box, and make each jury act upon the feelings of Catholicism and Protestantism in opposition to each other. Before they consented to any such things, the Parliament must be told more than they had by the Government, or else they would permit another severe experiment to be tried upon that interesting, but ill-fated country. The great question had been discreetly narrowed to one of party attack, in which more than one-half of the time of the House had been already wasted. The House had nothing to do with the merits or demerits of the persons mentioned; but as respected the measures which they proposed. If these honourable gentlemen were in any way connected with Ireland, they would not on that account further the claims of that country to redress; nor was the redress of her evils the less incumbent on Parliament on that account. These evils had long ago been pressed on the attention of the House. Mr. Emmett and Mr. M'Nevin stated in 1793, what were the grievances of Ireland. Would the measures now contemplated by the Ministers be effective, if not accompanied by the remedies which they suggested? When Emmett was examined before the Privy Council, he was asked whether Catholic emancipation and reform were the objects of the common people? He replied, that Catholic emancipation was not, and that reform had not been, till they thought that by it they could get a removal of their grievances. "And what are the grievances which they wish to be removed?" was the question. "In the first place, and principally, they complain of the tithes." (Hear). In the next, they complained of the system by which they were governed, and Mr. Emmett said, that if that were altered, they would be more respected by their superiors, and their superiors more esteemed by them. Lord Dillon asked whether they wanted more; he was told they did not. Lord Glentworth said, "Then you wish to destroy the church?" "Pardon me, my Lord, not to destroy the church, but to overturn the establishment." (A laugh). "I suppose you would have it as in France." "No, as in America." (Hear, hear). These quotations, from the manner in which they were received, seemed to be considered favourable to the other side. If so, he hoped they would be instructive. They showed what were the opinions of men who, in that day, were prepared to make, and did make sacrifices for their accomplishment. He complained that the Government did not now state what were the legislative measures they meant to introduce. He hoped they would be such as would meet the expectations and desires of the Irish people. (Hear). If so, were they to be told that the only way to prepare men for these benefits, was to place them in bondage, and to make them slaves? If the Government meant honestly; if they intended

to give Ireland such blessings, and such boons, they would not resort to natural law, and employ force, but would endeavour to calm excitement, and soothe the feelings of the people. Could it be said, that a man might commit murder in Ireland, and escape the punishment awarded by the laws with impunity? (Hear). Were the criminal laws of the two countries different; was there one law for this country, and another for Ireland? And yet they were told that seventy criminals in that country had evaded the laws; and that those who wished to have the laws executed, were surrounded by the friends and partisans of those criminals, and prevented from causing the laws to be executed. This he believed to be a mere invention; for he never heard such a case substantiated. He was old enough to remember when a noble lord came down to that House, and demanded from it the extraordinary powers which were now about to be required; but then, as now, no proofs were adduced that such strong powers were requisite. The truth was, that the present Government could bring forward no evidence to show that crime had increased in Ireland to the extent they wished the public to believe. But let it be granted that crime had so increased; whence did it spring, and who were the real, original cause of the misrule so loudly complained of? Why, the present Government; who never by their acts showed that they were inclined to favour that unhappy country. In the very document they had put into the King's mouth, they had shown their disinclination; for, instead of distinctly explaining the measures they meant to adopt towards the amelioration of that country, they had put forth their most eloquent champions to blazon abroad that nothing but a repeal of the union could satisfy the dissatisfied Irish. It would have been much more politic if they had recollected the words of the right hon. Member for Cambridgeshire, as expressed in the year 1808, when he said, in reference to Ireland, that if a greater spirit of conciliation was infused into the English Government; if they were guided by justice and economy, they might easily enlist in their favour the feelings of the Irish people, without having recourse to force and coercion. The policy of the present Government, of which the right hon. Gentleman was so distinguished a member, was not at all framed after such sage advice, for it thought that the best way of calming the complaints of the Irish would be to place them beyond the pale of the laws. The speech from the throne seemed to have been so framed as if the feelings of no one were consulted, and as if its framers cared not whether they insulted the feelings of a whole nation. (Hear, hear). What folly, particularly at a time when the whole of England was upon the stretch to learn what was to be done by a reformed Parliament. (Hear). From that Parliament the nation did not expect vague praises and indefinite plans of measures in perspective; but it expected and cried for useful and instant-

neous concessions. Unless those concessions were prominent, well defined, and likely to be accomplished, the people would abandon all hope in the administration based upon reform. The people required that the finances of the country should be looked to, and dealt largely with, so far as regarded their diminution. Taxes should be reduced some millions, and a property tax should be substituted, so graduated that it should reach large possessors unsparringly, and touch small proprietors with a tender hand. When this was done, not only this country would be satisfied, but it would not be necessary to declare actual war against Ireland, and it would be giving a testimony that Ministers were really possessed of a spirit of reform. With respect to that part of the speech which attempted to unfold the reforms of the church contemplated, he would say, that if the same Church reform only was extended to England which was promised to Ireland; the English people would not accept it at all. Let both countries be equally dealt with, and let a candid statement be made of the value of the entire church property, and after which let a Christian-like distribution take place, and the surplus be applied to the benefit of the nation. If Ministers thought that dividing two millions of money among a number of lesser plunderers would satisfy the nation, they laboured under a great and dangerous delusion. This he said with confidence, for he spoke from an intimate knowledge of the feelings of the people. He would not trouble the House by entering further into the question; but begged to state, that when he entered his protest against the address, and supported the amendment, he did not do so because he wished for a repeal of the union between this country and Ireland. Yet, if he were an Irishman, and saw that a larger portion of happiness would accrue to his country by such a separation, he would not be deserving the name of patriot if he did not contend for it. However, if ever such a separation took place, it would be laid to the account of the existing Government; and whoever hereafter wrote the history of the two countries would say that such a circumstance was caused by the uncalled-for oppression exercised by the Government of this country over Ireland. (Hear, hear).

Thursday, 7. Feb.

Mr. COBBETT and two other members rose at the same time. There was a call for Mr. Cobbett, and the others gave way. The hon. Member spoke to the following effect. If the doctrine of the hon. Gentleman who has last spoken be good, then there is no remedy at all for Ireland; and it would be as well to say at once that a military dictation should take place, and Ireland be ruled in that manner. Why, however, in that case, such a fuss about parting with Ireland? If it be good for nothing, why not let it go? If she be the poor and worthless thing that the hon. Gentleman (Mr. Taubert) has described her, why not

leave her to herself? You are monstrous loath to part with her. (Hear, hear). However, the hon. Gentleman has fallen into a great error. He has followed the steps of the hon. Member for Knaresborough; but, besides this, he comes to us piping hot from the lectures of Sir H. Parnell. The schoolmaster is abroad—abroad he is indeed; but now, it seems, he is at home, and has been the tutor of the hon. Gentleman on the floor. There never was a falser doctrine in the world than that held up to us by the hon. Member. He assumes, that, because Ireland has exported more since the union than before it, that therefore in that same proportion Ireland is more prosperous than before the union; and the right hon. Secretary, taking the argument from the hon. Member for Knaresborough, availed himself of all the advantage that could be derived from it, and the well-stationed and well-disciplined battalion behind him echoed and cheered what he said. What is the fact, then? I lament to say that the hon. Member—(Mr. Cobbett here turned round and said inquiringly, "He is not here")—I lament to say that my hon. Colleague is not here. He has documents to lay before the House, for the truth of which he is responsible, the truth of which no man can doubt, and which will show, that, in exactly the same proportion that the trade of Manchester increased, in the same proportion have the profits of the manufacturers, the wages of the labourer, and the comforts of the labourer decreased; and which will prove, that in these times of great prosperity, of which the hon. Member for Leeds has spoken—"No"—there are at least ten thousand persons in Leeds not getting so much as 3d. a day.

Mr. MACAULAY—I never said one word about prosperity. (Hear, hear, oh.)

Mr. COBBETT—The hon. Member said that he had the honour of being the representative of a very *prosperous community*. He is the representative of Leeds; and was not that saying that that town was in a state of "*great prosperity*"—(Here Mr. Macaulay assented). Now, I will pledge myself to prove that there are 10,000 persons in that town who do not get 3d. a day. My hon. colleague will bring the proofs which he has himself collected, and he will prove, that, at the peace, when there was a tolerable degree of prosperity, and the labouring people were doing pretty well, the importation of cotton a third of what it is now, the importation of cotton into Lancashire, or, may be, Manchester (no matter for the argument) was then 6,000 bags a week. Then the people were well off. When it came to 11,000 bags, which is nearly double, profits fell to one half, and wages fell also; and when it became 20,000 per week, as it is now, he will bring you an account of 50,000 persons and in full work—of 50,000 persons in one district which he personally examined, he himself being a great manufacturer—will bring you an account, which he could verify on oath, of 50,000 persons in that district living on less

than 2½d. a day, and they in full work at the same time. (Hear, hear). So that the hon. Member must not draw conclusions hastily, that because trade has increased, happiness has increased also. He should not draw conclusions of that sort; for if he do not remember the fact I do, that there was a time when the minister of the parish, attended by the churchwardens and overseers, and (to stimulate our charity), came with the *tax-gatherer at their back*, and my answer was, that I had no charity for Irish landlords—(hear, hear), for I knew that they would get it after all. (Hear). That was a time when there were 22,000 tons of oats brought from Galway, lying in the Thames (to be eaten by the horses of absentees), while from that same Galway we had an account of men dying from starvation. Well, then, these notions of the hon. Member are fallacious; they will not do. It must be humiliating for him to find himself so much mistaken; but it must be still more humiliating after his opinions have been cheered with such exultation. "Aye, aye," said the right hon. Secretary, "there's proof of the false charges against the union; he is a practical gentleman; he knows and understands what he says;" and in that way the thing went on most triumphantly for the time. Another error of the hon. Member for Knaresborough, which, if he had been attended to (but his moving from one part of the floor to the other prevented that), I should not have to answer, for the hon. Gentleman completely answered himself. That is a satisfactory way of arguing (a laugh); rubbing out as you go. (A laugh). He said that the real remedy was not the repeal of the union. I have not said one word upon the repeal of the union, for I do not know much about it at present, and it is a rule with me not to talk about a matter till I have had time to consider it, and till I think I understand it. (Hear). The hon. Member said the repeal of the union was not the remedy, but that the introduction of poor-laws was—(Mr. Richards answered "One")—well, one of the remedies. Now, in the opening of the hon. Member's speech, was a complaint that the Ministers had not mentioned the distressed state of the working people of *this* country. He referred to the noble Lord who moved the address, and he said that the hon. Member for Dublin had been accused of the crime of commission, and that he accused Ministers of the crime of omission,—a monstrous omission, that they did not state the distress existing in England, forgetting all the while that there were poor-laws in England! He forgot this while he was calling for this remedy for the sufferings of Ireland! The motives of the hon. member for Knaresborough, were, I am to presume, very good; but he had not thought enough about the matter; he was swimming upon the surface of the subject; and at his and my age, we ought to take a dip into the stream of knowledge. We have had this subject discussed so often, that the real

motion now before the House seems to have been forgotten.

We have talked about it, and about it,
'Till e'en the believers seem to doubt it.

(A laugh).

I remember something that was said by the hon. Secretary for Ireland that pleased me exceedingly. He has given a criterion of the right of resistance—a criterion that I shall examine by-and-by—and it shows that a man should not be too confident in what he says, nor too hasty in pledging himself to anything. There is danger in it. A man should not say, "This is right, and that is right, and I will stand by it;" I remember what once fell from the right hon. Secretary, for I admired it for the manner, but not for the matter. I dissented from the matter, and I said so at the time, and I am afraid he has not forgiven me for it from that day to this. The hon. Member for Middlesex, then member for Aberdeen, made a proposition for curtailing the church incomes in Ireland. The right hon. Secretary for Ireland, and a great authority, the present Lord Chancellor for Ireland, both laid it down as indubitable law, that Parliament had no more right to deal with the property of the church than with the property of any private individual. I appeal to the parliamentary report upon this point; they will bear me out, and I speak in the presence of 300 or 400 gentlemen who must recollect that what I say is true. Yet the right hon. Secretary for Ireland, who made that declaration, who was so positive upon the subject, has before brought in a bill or two, and has now told us he has taken credit for his intention, and has called upon us to arm him with powers for the purpose, that he means to bring in bills that *will actually shake the church all to pieces*. He has found out, therefore, that Parliament has a right to deal with the property of the church—that it is public and not private property. I do not charge him with anything wrong in this change of opinion: I only state the fact that he has found out that church property is public property altogether. An hon. Gentleman on the back bench, I do not know for what place he sits, seems not to know how to distinguish between the two—it was private property, and yet it was public property; it was necessary, he said, to touch it, and yet to touch it would be spoliation; and the hon. Member for Middlesex said much about the same thing. I do not call taking that which I have a right to take, spoliation, and the question is—has Parliament a right to deal with church property as it pleases, or has it not? It did once, I know, deal with the whole of it; it took it from one set of men to give it to another set; it took away Tavistock and Woburn Abbey to give them to the Duke of Bedford; and, if it could do that, can it not now take away parochial and dean and chapter property, which stands upon a foundation very different from that of Woburn? I speak of church property generally. It is quite clear that there is no spoliation in the case. Some

contend that it is not spoliation if you only go to a certain extent; but what is that length, and where are we to begin, and where to end? The hon. Baronet, the Member for Oxford, was quite right for his purpose, in saying that Parliament had no right to meddle with it at all, and that it was spoliation; but on this point, although on no other, I am able to cope with the hon. Baronet, and I insist, and will prove, that it is the nation's property—that we have a right to do with it as we like—and that we are bound to do with it as may be best for those we represent. A great deal depends upon the term spoliation. Stigmatize it with the name of spoliation, and you gain much; but I defy the most impudent of mankind to bring forward anything more impudent in his whole career than to say this—do what you will with it—make it what you will, public or private, clerical or unclerical, but we will leave it all still in the families that have got possession of it. Gentlemen should, however, be told a tale they perhaps were never told before (for we come here to speak in plain terms, not to lard one another with flattery, whether high or low); that nothing is clearer than that church property is public property, and nothing is clearer than that it is unjustly possessed by the aristocracy of the kingdom. Not above forty families hold all the church property of Ireland; and I ask whether it is the interest of the gentlemen of England to have their estates mulcted to the extent of two millions sterling, according to the calculation of the Member for Middlesex, to maintain an army of soldiers to compel the payment of tithes to forty families? Does religion demand it? Does the religion of Jesus Christ demand it? No—it does not. I am, and always have been for what some may call complete spoliation. In 1829, the Member for Surrey presented a petition from me, praying that that which ought to be done might be done. If gentlemen have sufficient leisure, I advise them to read that petition—and many a time have they turned with haughty disdain from that to which they have been compelled to listen at last—it was presented in May, 1829, and all the while the Catholic Relief Bill was passing I was exerting myself, as far as my humble means would allow, to ensure its success; but at the same time I was exhorting the right hon. Baronet not to do the thing by halves, but at once to put down the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland. I told him that there never would otherwise be peace for Ireland, and that the same scenes would be repeated after as had occurred before emancipation. I insisted that there must be an end put to the hierarchy in some way or other, and that until an end was put to it, peace there never could be in that distracted, malignant, and justly indignant country. (Cheers). I now come to the pleasing part of my task. In these troublesome times, when some refuse to pay taxes, and others talk of resisting this and that, it is extremely desirable

to have a criterion or *standard of the right of resistance*. It has been given to us, and I thank him for it, by the Secretary for Ireland. I read Blackstone with great attention, to see how far we might safely go, and I went over Locke and Coke, and some others, and even back to Fortescue, for the same purpose. Blackstone leaves the matter doubtful; but the Secretary for Ireland has cleared up the doubt; he has afforded us a certain standard of the right of resistance, and as if his authority were not sufficient, we have the high confirmation of the hon. Member for Leeds (Mr. Macaulay), as well as that of the noble Member for Devonshire. They have told us that if any state of things arise here, similar to that in America in the year 1776, then we have a right to resist, and not before. (Cheers). Let us see how this applies to the case of Ireland. I hope it is not treason yet—(Cheers and laughter)—although the Secretary for Ireland, or the Member for Leeds, called the American a holy cause. They said that the Americans resisted, and that they had a *right to resist*, and they almost added that they rejoiced in the resistance and in its success. I never went so far as that. (Cheers and laughter). I have been called Republican, Radical, Jacobin, Leveller. In the regular way of promotion I have gone through every stage—(laughter)—but never in my life did any man hear me praise Washington for that act of rebellion against his King. (Cheers). I would not have done it, and least of all if I had been the servant of the son of that King. (Hear). But to return—the Secretary asserted that the Americans had a right to resist; let us see then what it was they resisted. The Secretary was mistaken; he thought the Americans demanded to be represented in the British House of Commons. They knew a great deal better. (Cheers). They never demanded any such thing; they never would have listened to any such proposition. They demanded their own legislature, and the accusation against the Sovereign was, that he had attempted to interfere with the proceedings of their own legislature. Now, gentlemen of Ireland, let me have a word with you. I do not tell you to rebel, although the Secretary for Ireland praised rebellion, and said that it was lawful. I beseech you not to rebel. (Cheers, and cries of "Order"). Why am I called to order? Is it disorderly in these times, to beseech the people of Ireland not to rebel? Enough has been done, perhaps, to cause rebellion; but I entreat them never to rebel—never to suffer the devil to tempt them to think about rebellion, until they find some grievances like those the Americans complained of. How do I know what they complained of? Here is their declaration of independence: here is cause shown for their rebellion, and that cause has been declared by the Secretary sufficient. It was written by Jefferson and Madison together, and it was signed by them, by Washington, and the rest. (Cries of "No, no").

Mr. STANLEY—Washington did not sign it.

Mr. COBBETT—Well, that is a matter of no importance. (Laughter). It is a *wonderful error*, which, I suppose, is to invalidate all I have to say. (Cheers). It is so fatal an error, that my argument, founded upon the declaration, is to be good for nothing, although it is not of the slightest consequence to my argument. This is what the Americans complained of:—"That the King of England has called together legislative bodies at places uncomfortable and *distant from their residences*." That is one charge, and this is another:—"That the King of England has made judges dependent upon his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and for the amount and payment of their salaries." I do not speak of the judges; but how far this is the case with the justices of the peace in Ireland, I cannot say. The Americans go on to complain, "That he has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither *swarms of officers* to harass the people, and to eat out their substance." Whether such is the case in Ireland, whether any people have been sent there to eat out the substance of the people, I will not take upon me to decide. The next accusation is, "that he has kept upon us standing armies without the consent of *our own legislative bodies*." Whether this applies now I know not, but at all events what follows will not fit:—"That he has *affected* to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power." They have not *affected* that in Ireland; it is *not affectation there*." The Americans proceed—"He has combined with others" (meaning the two Houses of Parliament, and what impudent dogs they must have been), "to subject us to a jurisdiction, foreign to our usages and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of *pretended legislation*." The next charge goes even further—"That he has quartered large bodies of soldiers among us without consent." This ground of complaint I hope never can apply to Ireland. (Cheers). I trust that there is not a shadow of ground for applying to our present, this charge against a former sovereign. Then we come to the following—"For protecting the troops by *mock trials* from punishment for any murders committed on the *innocent inhabitants*." Let the right hon. Secretary for Ireland think of this! let Irish gentlemen think of this! It is a short sentence, but conclusive, and it speaks to us as with a voice from above—"For depriving us in many cases of the *benefit of trial by jury*." (Cheers). Let us reflect that this justified resistance in the case of America is according to the opinions of members of his Majesty's servants; but be it remembered also that I never went so far in my life. (Hear). That I never justified the Americans in taking up arms against their lawful sovereign, whom for many years we called "the best of kings." In the conclusion of the declaration they apply to him an opprobrious name, which I will not

repeat, out of respect to his present Majesty and his family; and that they wind up all their grounds of resistance by saying, that he had even endeavoured to deprive them of the benefit of the *trial by jury*. I pray you, then, gentlemen, let us not attempt to deprive our Irish fellow-subjects of the trial by jury, and thus afford them a lawful cause for open resistance. It has been several times put to the Irish Secretary, and to other members of the Cabinet, what they meant to do? and they have been asked why they did not tell the House what was in contemplation? Ministers first demand the power of putting a halter round the neck, and then, perhaps, they may condescend to let us know what it is for. They never have whispered their intentions; and an hon. Gentleman said, last night, that it was quite prudent that they should keep the secret to themselves:—he would contend that it was quite prudent to deprive the Americans of the trial by jury, but not quite prudent to tell us what they mean to do to prevent the recurrence of similar calamities. Upon their own showing, Ireland is always to be thus: more and more power will be wanted, heavier and heavier punishments will be inflicted. Gentlemen on the opposite side have said, that there will be a concurrence of redress, and what they mean, I suppose, is, that *redress should go hand-in-hand with coercion*. It is impossible: the two things never can go together; there never can be any such concurrence. For my part, I should not wonder if orders had been already given, and if the masons and blacksmiths were already at work to prepare dungeons for the guiltless and unfortunate intended victims. (Cheers, and cries of "No"). I do not say that it is so; but that I should not wonder if it were; and I know that in 1817, the rapidity in this respect was so great, that people were astonished that so many were so quickly prepared. It would, at most, only occupy about eight-and-forty hours. Let me ask, then, is it to be the first act of this reformed Parliament to pass a Castle-reagh and Sidmouth measure? I trust to God it is not; but I trust too, if it be to be carried by any means such as I will not express, that there will be men enough to resist the project; to oppose the intentions of Ministers, and to show the people of England, and the people of Ireland especially, that hope is not yet quite shut out, and that they ought to rally at the backs of those who have struggled for the preservation of their freedom. I said that I would not trouble the House long, and I will only occupy its attention for a few minutes longer. Perhaps what I have to say may not be very pleasing to some, but I must make an observation upon the eulogium passed upon Lord Grey—for his *generosity* towards the Roman Catholics—for his zeal in their cause and his sacrifices. If it were decorous for a minister of the King to boast of his generosity in doing that which was absolutely necessary for the preservation of the peace of the country, I

know that the boast belongs to somebody else, whose name has been rubbed from the corners of the streets and another put up in place. He did his duty, and has no right to praise. But Lord Grey, how did he do his duty? There are several young gentlemen in the House who cannot recollect so far back, and who, I dare say, have been carried away by this boldness of statement. The hon. Member for Leeds said that for himself he could claim no merit; but what did Lord Grey do to deserve the gratitude of the people of Ireland? As nobody else will answer the question, I will—I will tell you what he did. First, he was serviceable to the Catholics, or would have been if he could, in preventing the legislative union in 1799; he was their friend; he deprecated that measure, and took all possible pains to decry it, and to put the people of Ireland out of conceit of it. He was, it is said, the friend of the Catholics in 1807; that was his great exploit; and let us see then, the extent of his generosity. Now you shall have a true picture of what a Whig is—of what he is (Cheers and laughter). Remember, I do not hatch this term for use; it was employed by the Member for Leeds, who said that a Whig Ministry had done so much for the Catholics of Ireland. Now, the Whigs were in power in 1806, and continued so until 1807; and they had always been in the habit of making use of the Roman Catholics, and putting them forward as a stalking-horse, behind which they were to slip into office: yet they would have been content to have sat warm in their places from January, 1806, to February, 1807, without troubling themselves with emancipation, as many were old enough to remember, if they could have done so. But the Roman Catholics reminded them, and worked them pretty constantly with telling them, “We served you at your need—we badgered your opponents—we cried you up and cried them down, and now you must do something for us.” Accordingly, at last the Whigs brought in the Roman Catholic Bill. It was not the work of the right hon. Bart. (Sir R. Peel), or of the Duke of Wellington, but of the Whigs—the disinterested, the generous, the magnanimous Whigs. What was done? I wish I had here the two bills that I might compare them; but the bill of 1827, as compared with the bill of 1829, was what a pea is to a walnut. (Hear). It gave the Roman Catholics scarcely anything worth accepting, and even that was loaded by securities; it was nothing more nor less than a stupid measure—stupid enough for King George the Third to throw it out, and its framers after it. (Laughter). I hate insincerity worse than I hate downright brazen wickedness. (Cheers and laughter). I recollect the transactions of that time so well. The Whigs brought in the bill, and after they had brought it in, they did not seem very willing to push it along, but Parliament compelled them to push it. It was read 1st and 2d time, and everybody thought it would be carried and all over in a month. But somebody or

other advised George III. to put a stop to it. He told the Whigs that it should not pass, and what did that minister who brought it in do? Would I not rather go to plough and dig again than consent to do what he did? The very minister who proposed the bill in a flowery speech, enforced its absolute necessity—only thirteen days afterwards withdrew it, and that House, which had cheered the bill to the skies, had the baseness to permit him. He went out of office to be sure; he could hardly stay in his place after being so degraded; but he would have staid if he could; he wanted to stick to his place, and this minister was no other than Lord Grey himself. The House may know that there is such a thing as a council-book, and there the Whigs entered that they hoped they should still be permitted to mention to his Majesty anything conducive to the good of the country. “Ha, ha! (said the King) what, what! cannot I get these fellows out?” (Hear). He told them plainly, that unless they would sign their names in the council-book to a declaration that they would never mention Catholic emancipation again as long as they lived, he would not trust them. The Whigs well knew the consequences of signing it; they thought it better to walk out without giving under their own hands and seals, a proof of their utter unworthiness, and which they knew would have been followed by their expulsion. They were therefore turned out to the infinite satisfaction of both Catholics and Protestants, from one end of the kingdom to the other. So much for the gratitude due to the Whigs. (Here Mr. Cobbett paused, and a cry of “Question, question!” was raised). One word upon the subject of the church. I am for totally and entirely abrogating, annulling, rendering frustrate, and of no effect, the Protestant hierarchy in Ireland. Nobody can misunderstand me, I trust. (Cheers). I do not say so because I shall gain anything by its abolition, or by its continuance. I am no parson to receive tithes—and no Quaker to refuse for conscience sake to pay them; but I know that the putting down of that hierarchy is necessary to the happiness, peace, safety, and renown of this kingdom. (Cheers). It can be endured no longer with security to the kingdom, or to the King’s throne; therefore, as a loyal subject of the King, and a faithful representative of the people, I declare my opinion against it. Look at the history of the church, and in it you read all the great calamities of the country. This church has created the national debt; it was incurred for the sake of the church. It was the cause of the detestable, execrable, and accursed Septennial Bill; to uphold it the ruinous French war was undertaken; in short, to maintain it, as is proved by deeds and acts of Parliament, one king was brought to the block and another driven from the throne. What it is destined next to effect I leave gentlemen to determine; but I cannot sit down without expressing my gratitude to the House for the great attention which I have received. (Cheers.)

DIVISION OF 14. FEBRUARY.

For *abolishing* Naval and Military sinecures, 140 ; for *upholding* those sinecures, 234.

Let the people of *Yorkshire* know, that STRICKLAND spoke and voted for upholding the sinecures; let those of *Surrey* know, that BRISCOE did the same; let those of *Bolton* know, that TORRENS voted *against the abolition*, if he voted at all.

KIND-HEARTED PARSONS !

(From the *Morning Chronicle* of the 14. Feb.)

IRISH CLERGY.

MEETING AT NEWPORT PAGNELL.

A meeting was called, agreeably to a requisition which was inserted in the *Northampton Mercury* and *Herald*, which was to consider "the best means of relieving the distress of the Irish clergy. T. B. Pewled, Esq., was called to the chair. He opened the meeting by reading the requisition from a newspaper, after which Mr. Henry Lucas rose and said, that he could not better inform the meeting than by reading a statement which appeared in the *St. James's Chronicle*, which having read, he moved—"That there be a subscription raised to relieve those clergymen in Ireland who are suffering calamities so severe." The Rev. T. Fry rose most cordially to second this motion. He stated, that having seen a private letter from the Rev. Peter Roe, of Kilkenny, he could add his testimony to the truth of the remarks made by Mr. Lucas. That worthy clergyman, Mr. Roe, for the last three years received only 17*l.* per annum out of 600*l.*, though the congregation was upwards of 1,200.

Mr. MEADOWS wished to know the population of Kilkenny.—The answer was, 24,000.

Mr. CRIPPS then spoke as follows: Mr. Chairman, I have an amendment to propose to this resolution; and un-

willing as I am to disturb the unanimity of a meeting convened for a benevolent purpose, I must begin a few words to explain my motives. Those who know me best—and I am surrounded by many who well know me—know that I have a heart to feel, a hand to relieve, distress wherever I find it. But, Sir, in order to ascertain the "best means of affording relief to the Irish clergy, it becomes us to inquire into the cause of their distress. My motive in proposing this amendment is, that while we extend relief to the Irish clergy, it shall not go forth to the world that we sanction the system which has produced these miseries, of which the clergy are not the first victims, for the poor peasant, the farmer, and the tradesman—

The Rev. H. WHINFIELD: We are not come here, Sir, for a political discussion, but to provide a remedy for distress.

Mr. CRIPPS (addressing the former speaker): I stand here, Sir, on a different ground than you occupy: you are fattening on the revenues of the church, and I, who cannot approve of it, am compelled to pay towards its support.

Rev. J. FRY (aside to Mr. Lucas): Let him alone: *he will the sooner cut his own throat*, and then in a louder voice said, Mr. Chairman, I think Mr. Cripps ought to be allowed to conclude his remarks.

Mr. CRIPPS: If I, as a dissenter, complain of being compelled to support this system in England, how much more—

Mr. H. LUCAS: We cannot, Sir, enter into this discussion.

Rev. T. FRY: This is quite irrelevant; I might as well say that all these evils in Ireland proceed from the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, *and I believe they do*. (Loud cries of order, order! and laughter drowned the remainder of this gentleman's speech).

Mr. CRIPPS appealed to the chair: a long discussion ensued on a point of order, which was decided by the requisition being read, and Mr. Cripps reading the amendment:—"That whilst this meeting laments the existence of

great distress among many classes of their countrymen, and would cordially concur in any general effort for their relief, they do not feel the clergy of Ireland has any peculiar claims to their sympathy. It is the opinion of this meeting, that their present distress, is the natural result of that system of misrule which has long prevailed in Ireland, both in church and state, and by which they have hitherto so largely benefited. That at the same time this meeting feels called upon to express their opinion that the clergy of Ireland have a strong claim to the sympathy and assistance of their more fortunate brethren, the overpaid dignitaries of their own church, and the prelates and clergy of the church of England, from whose ample revenues they feel that a sufficient sum might be spared to meet all present exigences." He proceeded to observe, that the cause of these evils was an establishment, founded as that establishment was, in error, and that if these parsons had possessed the affections of their flocks, Peter Roe, for instance, he would have had more than 17*l.* per annum.

It is impossible to describe the confusion which ensued; the Chairman threatened to adjourn the meeting.

Mr. W. B. BULL then stepped forward, and said, that as one of the requisitionists, he claimed a hearing. He observed that his motive in signing the requisition simply was to inquire into the "best means" of relieving these distressed clergy, for he was convinced that the system which produced those evils was bad.

After some difficulty a hearing was obtained for

Mr. CRIPPS: Gentlemen, if you will only hear me, Mr. Bull has expressed my sentiments, and—(He was now interrupted by the Rev. J. Prettyman). Mr. Cripps manfully replied, it is you that are out of order, Sir, and *ere this meeting is closed, I shall have a word or two for you.*

Rev. J. FRY then rose on a point of order, and then began to argue on the general question before the meeting. He having been called to order, the

meeting claimed a hearing for Mr. Cripps. He commenced one more, but was interrupted by the Rev. Mr. Fisher of Wavendon: he claimed for one moment the hearing of the meeting. Twice within his recollection had there been subscriptions for the Roman Catholics, and sure it cannot be too much to ask for one for the suffering clergy of the establishment. In the former case they had not inquired into the cause, nor ought they in this.—Mr. Cripps: I beg to set the reverend Gentleman right on this point; in the case referred to the cause was assigned, that of the failure of the potato crop, and other painful dispensations of Divine Providence.—Interruption after interruption ensued, but no more hearing could be obtained for Mr. Cripps, so determined were the requisitionists to stand him out. To confirm the view these parsons took, Mr. Lucas again referred to the requisition; but this did not help them out; for, to use its own words, the meeting was convened to devise "the best means" of affording relief, and Mr. Cripps and his friends maintained that the amendment proposed is a more efficient remedy than the previous resolution, therefore the best means. Again was confusion "the order of the day." The parsons seeing they were defeated, requested the chairman to adjourn the meeting, which he most readily did. The parsons and their friends, amongst whom we were sorry to see some dissenters, then retired. Amidst this confusion, it was proposed and seconded, that Mr. Cripps do take the chair, which motion was unanimously carried.—The worthy chairman, on opening the business of the meeting, said—Gentlemen: I think it right to state the object this meeting has in view. Gentlemen (said he, emphatically), we too well know the cause of the distress of the Irish clergy. Seven millions six hundred thousand Catholics have been compelled to support a system of spiritual instruction for four hundred thousand Protestants—compelled to support an establishment, the doctrines of which they do not believe. In many districts, the clergyman him-

self they never see ; for he is enjoying, in another part of the nation, his ill-gotten wealth—his representative, the cruel tithe-proctor, do they only see, and he often enters the cabin of the Irish peasant, and takes the very stock of potatoes with which the father had hoped to save his family from starvation. (Cries of "Shame !"). The folly of the clergy themselves has caused their present misery. (Loud cries of "Yes, yes !"). The system is bad even in England. I feel it ; we all feel it. Is it nothing that I am compelled to pay more for the support of a church I never enter—an establishment of which I cannot approve—than it costs me for the protection of my life and property in payment to Government, in the shape of assessed taxes ? But, gentlemen, *if you want to see how this iniquitous system works even in this country, let me refer you to the house of a farmer, not more than two miles hence, who, with a wife and eight children dependent on him for support, and himself but a few weeks since returned from a lunatic asylum, has this very morning an execution in his house for tithes due to one of those very parsons who signed the requisition ; and, after causing this to be done, comes here to exercise his tender mercies towards those clergy in Ireland who cannot by any means obtain their tithes.* (Loud cries of "Hear, hear ! shame, shame !") We need not wonder at the poor Irish acting as they have ; and those evils which have overtaken the clergy are but a just retribution of Divine Providence—the evils they have inflicted on the poor have justly recoiled on themselves. The worthy Chairman closed a very animated speech amidst loud cheers.

Mr. PARSONS rose to move as a resolution that motion which he had previously submitted as an amendment, for which see above. It was seconded by Mr. THOMAS E. STAINES, and carried unanimously.

The Rev. Mr. JAMES :—Mr. Chairman, if I am not out of order, I wish to address a few words to this meeting, though an entire stranger to nearly each individual in the room. I cannot re-

frain from expressing the pleasure I feel at the triumph the people of Newport have achieved. Yes, gentlemen, it is a triumph. The parsons, who were opposed to the view of Mr. Crisp (Mr. Cripps ! from some one in the crowd).—I thank you, Sir, I am a stranger to the gentleman—these parsons ought to have heard him out, and answered him by fair argument ; instead of which they managed to breed a riot ; and then, on the very strength of that riot, which they themselves had caused, adjourned the meeting. I am pleased that I was the first to propose having another chairman, which view you so cordially supported. Gentlemen, I am of opinion, in spite of what we have heard of the faithful Peter Roe, that more than the majority of parsons in Ireland are precisely what the majority are in England—men who make the office of the priesthood a mere sinecure. Too many of them resemble a parson near Stratford, who, though his living produces 600*l.* per annum, says it is hardly enough to find him a breakfast. This very parson, gentlemen, cares nought about his flock ; they are entirely destitute of religious instruction, and to counteract which neglect, some good friends of religion in my neighbourhood are at considerable expense in building. I move that the thanks of this meeting be given to our Chairman, for the noble and manly stand he has this day made in favour of good order and liberty ; which motion being carried unanimously, the Chairman returned thanks, and assured the meeting that he would always raise his voice against oppression, and lend his purse to relieve the distressed.

The meeting was then dissolved, and separated highly gratified at the conquest they had obtained over the members of a domineering priesthood. As soon as we heard it was in contemplation to call a meeting, we had cause to suspect the motives which induced some two or three to get up this hole-and-corner meeting—we were exceedingly surprised to see the name of a dissenting clergyman in this town, and some few of his friends, attached to this re-

quisition, whilst that of our worthy vicar, the Rev. Geo. Morley, was omitted: we have heard it confidently rumoured he was never called upon, so that his patronage might be obtained. This sure was conduct unworthy of parsons who declared that they had no political bias in this affair. We flatter ourselves that these conservative parsons had in view the honourable motive of causing a division amongst those true friends of our country who reside here, and thereby check the growing spirit of honest integrity, and firm determination to support the people's cause, which pervades the bottom of even many here, though it is the darkest part of the most corrupt county of England. These conservatives did not succeed in their unworthy motive, and we again take this opportunity of cheering on the firm and honest friends of liberty in their career, and confidently assure them that success will eventually crown their efforts, and prevent the above opprobrious epithet being applied with any truth to the town of Newport Pagnell.

GARDEN SEEDS.

I, some time ago, notified my intention of selling garden seeds this winter; and I am now prepared to do it. Those who have read my writings on AGRICULTURE and GARDENING, and particularly my "ENGLISH GARDENER," will have perceived that I set forth, with much pains, the vast importance of being extremely careful with regard to the seeds which one sows: and, as to which matter, there are two things to be attended to; first, the *genuineness* of the seeds; and next, as to their *soundness*. The former is the more important point of the two; for it is a great deal better to have no plants at all, than to have things come up, and, at the end of a month or two, to find that you have got a parcel of stuff, not at all resembling that which you thought you were about to have. Those who have read my *Gardening Book*, chap. 4,

will want very little more to convince them of the importance of this matter. I have always taken great delight in having perfect plants of every description; but, to get into the way of raising good and true garden seeds, requires that you be settled upon some sufficient space of ground for *several successive years*; and it has been my lot to live under a Government, which, if you take the liberty to differ from it in opinion, has taken care to prevent you, by hook or by crook, from being settled in any place, except one of its prisons, for any considerable length of time. Since, however, it, in a lucky hour, had the wisdom to pass *PEEL'S BILL*, it has been rather less rummaging; though it certainly *meant well* towards me in the year 1831. I have, however, been suffered to remain long enough at KENSINGTON to bring the seeds of a good many plants to what I deem perfection, and others nearly to that state; and I have taken a little farm in Surrey, partly for the purpose of raising garden seeds upon a greater scale than I was able to do it at KENSINGTON; this year I have raised a considerable quantity of seeds, which I now offer for sale in the following manner, and on the following terms.

It does not suit me to keep a *seed-shop*, and to retail seeds by the small quantity; but to make up packages, each sufficient for a garden for the year, and to sell that package for a fixed sum of money. When I was driven to *Long Island* by SIDMOUTH's dungeon bill, and when the Hampshire parsons and SIDMOUTH and CASTLEREAGH chuckled at the thought of my being gone to mope away my life in melancholy, in the United States; and when the famous traveller, Mr. FEARON, brought home word, that I was whiling away my life in a dilapidated country house, the paths to which were over-run with thistles and brambles; when Mr. FEARON, that accurate observer, exclaimed, in the language of his brother SOLOMON, "Lo! it was all grown over with thorns, and nettles covered the face thereof, and the post and rail fence thereof was broken down;" when

Mr. FEARON, in the fulness of his compassion, was thus exclaiming, I, though he found me in a pair of Yankee trousers not worth a groat, was preparing to sell seeds in a house at NEW YORK, for which I gave fourteen hundred dollars a year. In short, I imported a great quantity of seeds from London, which I sold principally in the following manner:

I had *little boxes* made, into each of which I put a sufficiency of each sort of seeds for a gentleman's garden for the year. The large seeds were in paper bags, and the smaller seeds in papers. In the box along with the seeds, I put a printed paper containing a list of the names of the several seeds, and against each name the *number*, from numbers *one* to the end: then, there were corresponding numbers marked upon the bags and the parcels. So that, to know the sort of seed, the purchaser had nothing to do but to look at the numbers on the parcels and then to look at the list. Many of these boxes of seeds went as far as LOWER CANADA to the north, and into the FLORIDAS, to NEW ORLEANS, and even to the West India islands, to the south; and the net proceeds were amongst the means of enabling me to prance about the country; amongst the means of enabling me to lead a pleasant life; of enabling me to stretch my long arm across the Atlantic, and to keep up the thumping upon Corruption, which I did to some tune.

I intend to dispose of my seeds in the same manner now, except that I shall use *coarse linen bags* instead of boxes. The several parcels of seeds will be put up either in paper bags or paper parcels; and a printed list with the *names* and *numbers* will be prepared; and, then, the parcels and the list will be put into the linen bag, and sewed up, and will be ready to be sent away to any person who may want it.

A bag for a considerable garden; a garden of the better part of an acre, perhaps, will be sold for *twenty-five shillings*; and for a smaller garden, for *twelve shillings and sixpence*. These seeds, if bought at the shop of a seedsman, would come to more than three

times the money; and so they ought: for the seedsman has his expensive shop to keep; has his books to keep; has his credit to give, and has his seeds to purchase with his ready money. While, therefore, I have a right to proceed in my manner, he does nothing wrong. By the lists, which I publish below, the reader will perceive that, to the garden seeds I have added the seeds of several annual flowers. They are not of very *rare* kinds; but they are all very pretty; and, even these flower seeds alone, if purchased at a seedsman's, would come, and ought to come, to pretty nearly one half of the money which I charge for the whole. Of some of the sorts of seeds the purchaser will think the quantity *small*; and, of these the cauliflower is one; but, it must be a thundering garden that requires more than three hundred cauliflower plants; and, if carefully sowed, agreeably to the directions in my *Gardening Book*, the seed which I put up is more than sufficient for any gentleman's garden; and I will pledge myself for the soundness of every individual seed. In the *small bag*, the quantity is in proportion to the price. Authors always want people to read their books; or, to purchase them at least. The reader will not, therefore, be surprised, that I most *earnestly exhort* all those who buy my seeds, to *buy my book, too*, and even then they will not have half so much to pay as if they had to purchase the seeds of a seedsman.

I have only one fear upon this occasion, and that is, that gentlemen's gardeners, who are in the habit of dealing with seedsmen, and who are apt to adhere too literally to that text of Scripture, which says that "he who *soweth abundantly* shall reap abundantly;" but, begging their pardon, this does not mean covering the ground with the seeds, which, though it may produce abundant reaping to the seedsman, is far from having that tendency with regard to the crop. *Thick sowing* is, indeed, injurious in three ways: first, it is a waste of seed and of money, of which it is actually a flinging away of both: second, it makes work in the

chinning out of the plants: third, the plants will never be so fine if they come up thick. Therefore, in my *Gardening Book*, chapter 4, beginning at paragraph 85, I take very great pains to give instructions for thin sowing; and, if every one who cultivates a garden could see the regularity, the cleanliness, and the beauty, of my seed beds, never should we again see a parcel of seeds flung promiscuously over the ground. It is probable, that three hundred cauliflower seeds will lie in a thimble; and if you want three hundred plants, it is better to sow these three hundred seeds in a proper manner, than to fling twenty thousand seeds over the same space of ground. You must cut the superfluous seeds up with a hoe, or pull them out with your hand; and, small as they are, and insignificant as you may think their roots to be, they rob and starve one another, even before they get into rough leaf. I know very well, that it requires a great deal *more* time to sow a bed of a hundred feet long, and with cabbages, for instance; a great deal more time to sow it in drills, and to put the seed in thinly, than to fling the seed thickly over the ground and just rake it in; but, look at the *subsequent operations*; and you will find that, in the end, this "*sowing abundantly*" costs ten times the time and the labour which are required by the method of sowing pointed out in my book. Therefore, let no man imagine, that to have a plentiful crop a great quantity of seed is necessary. When, indeed, you have reason to fear that the seed is not sound, and when you cannot obtain that which you know to be sound, it may be prudent to throw in great parcels of it in order to have the best chance to get *some* plants; but, hap-hazard work like this ought to be avoided, if possible; and, at any rate, I pledge myself, for the soundness of all my seed; I pledge myself that, if properly sowed, every seed that I sell shall grow. Thus far as to my seeds in general. I have now to speak of one sort of seed, which, as that horrible old Whig, Sir Robert Walpole, said of his bribes,

"*is sold only at my shop.*" This is the seed of the CISALPINE strawberry: this strawberry, unlike all others that I ever heard of, *produces its like* from the seed; is raised with the greatest facility, bears most abundantly, and *keeps bearing until the hard frosts come.* The seeds are so small that a little pinch of them between the finger and the thumb is sufficient for a very large garden; and the method of rearing the plants is this: about the first week of February, or it may be a little later, fill with fine earth, to within about an inch of the top, a flower-pot from twelve to fifteen inches over; take the little pinch of seed and scatter it very thinly over the top of the earth; then put some *very* fine earth over the seed a quarter of an inch thick, or rather less. Set the pot in a green-house, or in the window of any room where the sun comes, and give water very carefully, and very gently, as occasion may require. When the warm weather comes, the pot should be set out of doors in a warm place when there is no heavy rain, and should be taken in at night if there be any fear of frost. Towards the end of *April*, the pot may be set out of doors altogether; and, small as the plants will still be, they will be fit to be planted out in the natural ground by the middle, or towards the latter end, of *May*. Then dig a piece of ground deep, and make it extremely fine upon the top, and put out the little plants in rows *two feet apart*, and *two feet* apart in the row; for, though not bigger than a thread, each plant will multiply itself into a considerable *tuft* before the middle of July; and then they will begin to bear, and they will keep on bearing as long as the hard frosts keep away. The very runners which proceed from these plants, will take root, blow, and have ripe fruit, during the first autumn. When the bearing is over, cut off all the runners, clear the ground close up to the *tufts*, and let the tufts remain to bear another year, when their produce is prodigious. But, then you must grub them up; for they so multiply their offsets, and so fill the ground with their roots, that they almost cease to bear if they remain longer. So

that you must have a new plantation from seed every year ; and the seed you may save yourself, by squeezing the pulp of dead-ripe strawberries in water, which sends the seed to the bottom of the water : you skim off the pulp, and drain away the water, then put the seed out in the sun to dry, and then put it up and preserve it for sowing in the winter. There is a *red* sort and a *white* sort, which you may keep separate or sow them and plant them promiscuously. And, now, to do justice to Sir CHARLES WOLSLEY, who is my teacher as to this piece of knowledge, and at whose house, at WOLSLEY PARK, I saw, in September last, the finest dishes of strawberries that I ever had seen in the whole course of my life. They were served up in a mixed state, some red and some white ; and the taste and fragrance were equal to the beauty. Sir CHARLES was so good as to make his gardener save me a considerable quantity of the seed, which, by the bursting of the paper, became mixed ; and, therefore, the parcels of this strawberry seed, which I shall put into my packages, will, the purchaser will bear in mind, be some of the *white* strawberry and some of the *red*. After this long story about garden seeds, which, however, is not so execrably stupid as the impudent babble of the Whigs about having "*settled upon a Speaker* for the next House of Commons," I proceed to give a list of the names of my seeds, and of the numbers which are to be put upon the parcels ; once more observing, that a large package of seeds will be sold for *twenty-five shillings*, and a small one for *twelve shillings and sixpence*. A direction may be sewed on the package in a minute, and it can be sent to any part of the country by the coach, or in any other manner, as the weight, even of the larger package, is only about 16 pounds.

KITCHEN GARDEN SEEDS.

No.

1. Asparagus.
2. Bean—Broad, or Windsor.
3. Long-pod.
4. Early Masagan.

5. Kidney (or French) Scarlet Runners.
6. White Runners.
7. Black Dwarf.
8. Dun Dwarf.
9. Robin-Egg.
10. Speckled.
11. Beet—Red.
12. Brocoli—White.
13. Purple.
14. Cabbage—Early Battersea.
15. Early York.
16. Savoy.
17. Cale—Curled—Scotch.
18. Carrot.
19. Cauliflower.
20. Celery.
21. Chervil.
22. Cress.
23. Cucumber, early frame.
24. Corn (Cobbett's).
25. Endive.
26. Leek.
27. Lettuce—White Coss.
28. Russia Coss.
29. Brown Dutch.
30. Green Cabbage.
31. Mustard—White.
32. Nasturtium—Dwarf.
33. Onion.
34. Parsnip.
35. Parsley—Curled.
36. Pea—Early-frame.
37. Tall Marrowfats.
38. Dwarf Marrowfats.
39. Radish—Early Scarlet.
40. White Turnip.
41. Spinage.
42. Squash (from America, great variety).
43. Strawberry—Cisalpine.
44. Turnip—Early-Garden.

FLOWER SEEDS.

45. Canterbury Bells.
46. Catch Fly.
47. China-asters.
48. Clarkia, (very beautiful).
49. Convulsius—Dwarf.
50. Indian Pink.
51. Larkspur—Dwarf Rocket.
52. Lupins—Dwarf Yellow.
53. Marvel of Peru.
54. Poppy—Carnation.
55. French.

56. Stock—White Wall-flower.
 57. Scarlet, ten-week.
 58. Mignonette.
 59. Sweet-william.
 60. Sweet Pea.
 61. Venus's Looking-glass.
 62. Virginia Stock.
 63. Wall-flower.

FIELD SEEDS.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs. 9d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs. 8d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs. 9d. a pound; above 100lbs. 7d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but *the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away*; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me.

MANGEL WURZEL SEED.—Any quantity under 10lbs., 8d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner.

TREE SEED.

LOCUST SEED.—6s. a pound.

From the LONDON GAZETTE,

FRIDAY, FEB. 8, 1833.

INSOLVENT.

WITT, G., Chenies-street, Bedford-square, cheesemonger.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BROWN, C., Tottenham-ct.-rd., china-dealer.
 CROKER, E., Lombard-street, tobacconist.

BANKRUPTS.

BARNARD, A., Norwich, money-scrivener.
 COHEN, J. W., Lower Ormond-quay, Dublin,
 and Bury-street, St. Mary Axe, London,
 wholesale jeweller.

DOWN, W. jun., Portsea, woollen-draper.
 EARCE, W., Birmingham, victualler.
 FOSTER, J., Leeds, printer.
 GREATOREX, T., Albany-street, Regent's-park, hay-salesman.
 HANNUM, C., Chippenham, Wilts, carpenter.
 HARDCASTLE, R., West Smithfield, plumber.
 HARDIMAN, J. and W., St. Dunstan's-hill, Lower Thames-street, ship-agents.
 JONES, W. R., Sad Thames, lighterman.
 LEARY, D., Parliament-street, surgeon.
 MAY, T., Chesterfield, grocer.
 MOXON, J. jun., Southampton, chemist.
 NEEP, W. E. J., Norwich, silversmith.
 NOEL, L. J. J., Carey-street, Lincoln's-inn, scrivener.
 SMITH, G., Stoke-mills, East Stoke, Dorsetshire, miller.
 STOKES, B., Droitwich, Chandler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

MEEK, W., Stockbridge, Edinburgh, builder.

TUESDAY, FEB. 12, 1833.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

PEARCE, H., Bishopsgate Within, tavern-keeper.
 REYNOLDS, R., Manchester, cabinet-maker.
 SANDYS, T., Bell-court, Brook's-market, bookseller.

BANKRUPTS.

BOWDITCH, W., Exeter, grocer.
 BRUNT, T. I., Whittington, Derbys., tanner.
 BUSBY, C. A., BRIGHTHELMSTON, Sussex, builder.
 ETCHES, W., Doncaster, auctioneer.
 GILBERT, T., Birmingham, coal-dealer.
 HILLS, S., Hammersmith, schoolmistress.
 HOOPER, W., Farmington, Gloucestershire, farmer.
 INNES, J., St. Mildred's-court, merchant.
 JACOMBS, J., Coventry, and W. Jacombs, Nuneaton, riband-manufacturers.
 JOYCE, H., Milford-lane and Essex-street, Strand, oilman.
 MATTERSON, E., Leeds, chemist.
 NELSON, T., Stibbington, Huntingdonshire, paper-manufacturer.
 RATHER, W., Grantham, Lincolns., scrivener.
 ROWE, W. M., Stamford, grocer.
 SIM, J., Whitehaven, currier.
 WILSON, J., Ernest-street, Regent's-park, victualler.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

LAMB, R., Edinburgh, merchant.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, Feb. 11.—The supplies of wheat from the home counties have been to-day much more moderate than of late, yet several parcels having been left on

hand at the close of Friday's market, the stands exhibited a tolerably fair show of samples. The quality of the wheat fresh up was generally rough. The best runs obtained quite as much money as this day se'night, but all secondary and ill-conditioned sorts hung heavily on hand, and must be noted fully 1s. cheaper than last Monday. Old wheat was in very limited request at its former currency. In bonded corn nothing doing.

The fresh arrivals of barley were inconsiderable; bright malting qualities, which are extremely scarce, were worth fully 32s. to 34s.; but black stained sorts were difficult to dispose of at 24s. to 27s., and distilling and grinding descriptions at 21s. to 23s., being fully 1s. lower than on Monday, and very dull sale at the decline.

The malt trade continues extremely heavy.

We had a large parcel of oats offering, the accumulation of the previous week, added to some fresh arrivals this morning; the article experienced a slow and languid sale: the best qualities are 6d., and inferior and stale parcels 1s., lower than last Monday.

Beans very dull sale, but not cheaper.

Peas, both boiling, grey, and maple, were 1s. to 2s. lower, with a limited sale.

Flour in fair demand at former rates.

Wheat	54s. to 60s.
Rye	32s. to 34s.
Barley	21s. to 23s.
— fine	30s. to 32s.
Peas, White	30s. to 34s.
— Boilers	36s. to 40s.
— Grey	30s. to 34s.
Beans, Small	—s. to —s.
— Tick	28s. to 30s.
Oats, Scotch Potato	22s. to 24s.
— Feed	13s. to 18s.
Flour, per sack	48s. to 50s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, —s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... —s. to —s.	
Pork, India, new 126s. 0d. to —s.	
— Mess, new ... 75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast 84s. to —s. per cwt.	
— Carlow 80s. to 88s.	
— Cork 80s. to 82s.	
— Limerick .. —s. to —s.	
— Waterford .. 76s. to 80s.	
— Dublin 74s. to 76s.	
Cheese, Cheshire 50s. to 70s.	
— Gloucester, Double .. 50s. to 62s.	
— Gloucester, Single .. 46s. to 50s.	
— Edam 48s. to 50s.	
— Gouda 48s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish 50s. to 60s.	

SMITHFIELD.—Feb. 11.

This day's supply of each kind of fat stock was limited; but trade, owing to advanced prices being stiffly demanded, was, with each kind of meat, exceedingly dull; with prime small veal at an advance of about 2d. per

stone; with beef, mutton, coarse and inferior veal and pork at Friday's quotations.

The beasts appeared to consist of about equal numbers of short-horns and Devonshire (principally) steers and oxen, with some corn and heifers; Irish beasts, and Welch runs, for the most part from Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire, and the western districts; and Scots and Norfolk home-breds, chiefly from Norfolk; with, perhaps, 100 Herefords, from the midland districts; about as many Sussex beasts, principally steers and oxen, and about the same number of Towns' end cows, with a few Staffords, &c., from various quarters.

A full moiety of the sheep were new Leicesters, of the South Down and different white-faced crosses, in the proportion of about two of the former to four of the latter; the remainder about equal numbers of Kents and Kentish half-breds, polled, with some horned Norfolks, and old Leicesters, with a few horned and polled Scotch and Welch sheep, horned Somersets, Dorsets, &c.

Beasts, 2,266; sheep, 16,120; calves, 102; pigs, 120.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, Feb. 15.

The arrivals this week are moderate. The market dull, at the prices of Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thurs.
Cons. Ann.	87½	87½	87½	87½	87½	87½

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